

With Colonel Gzowski's Compliments.

CANADA AS A HOME.

BY

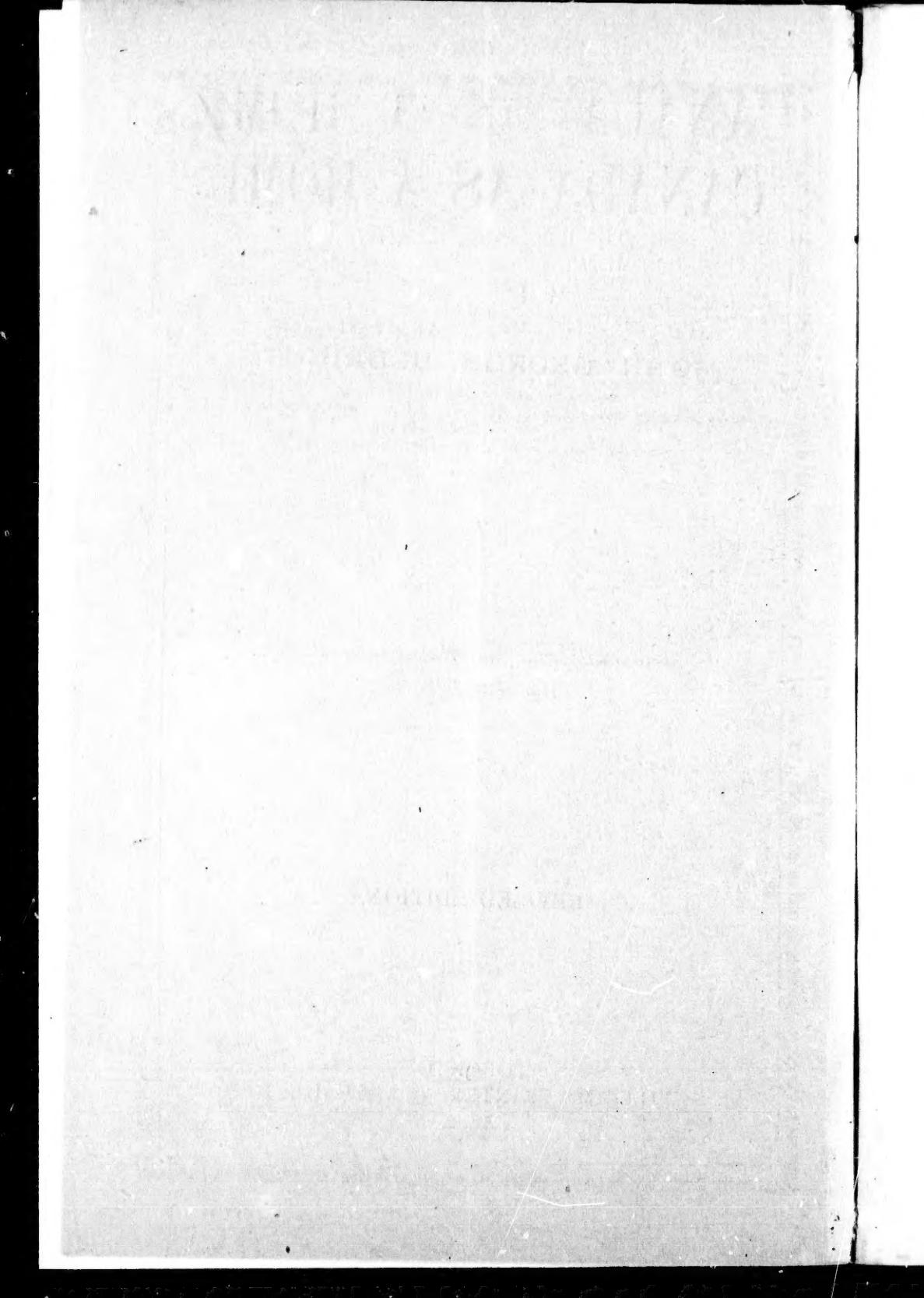
JOHN GEORGE BOURINOT,

CLERK OF THE CANADIAN HOUSE OF COMMONS,
FELLOW OF THE STATISTICAL SOCIETY OF LONDON, HONORARY CORRESPONDING SECRETARY
OF THE ROYAL COLONIAL INSTITUTE,
HONORARY MEMBER OF THE ROYAL SOCIETY OF CANADA, ETC.

*Reprinted from The Westminster Review
for July, 1882.*

REVISED EDITION.

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CANADA AS A HOME.

THE fact that during fifteen months ending on the 30th of September last, at least nine hundred thousand immigrants, largely drawn from Great Britain and Ireland, arrived in the United States, can hardly be regarded with satisfaction by those Englishmen and Colonists who wish to see the waste places of the Empire filled up by an industrious population. It is true there has been an influx of immigrants into Canada, particularly into her north-west, during the same period, but it has been a mere ripple compared with the tide which has flowed into the neighbouring country to give still greater impulse to its already remarkable industrial activity. It does not require any elaborate argument to prove that it would be of infinite value to the Empire at large were Canada and the Australian colonies in possession of all the national wealth that would be represented by at least one-half of the people that have given the preference to the United States for many years past. But this is an old grievance of the colonial dependencies of England. Canada has never yet received her fair proportion of the enormous immigration that has for half a century left the shores of Great Britain and Ireland. More than ten millions of souls have made the United States their home within that period. Since 1867, when the provinces were United in a Confederation, a larger population than is now in all Canada has emigrated from Europe to the United States. It is true that Canada has prospered all the while, despite that policy of indifference to imperial interests that has left the stream of emigration to flow away from Great Britain without direction. And if the Dominion has now a population of between four and five millions of people, enjoy-

ing no small amount of happiness and prosperity ; if her commercial and industrial progress is in some respects even greater than that of her neighbour ; if her political and social conditions rest on a secure and healthy basis ; if her prospects are now of a most encouraging character, she may thank her own public men, who have succeeded, against many obstacles, in developing a country to whose importance, as a factor in the world's progress, statesmen and publicists, not only in England but in France, the original colonizer of Canada, are commencing at last to give a measure of recognition.

It was inevitable that Canada should occupy, during the early years of her career, a position of considerable disadvantage on this continent. In those times, which now seem so distant, when she was a colony of France, the people that dwelt by the St. Lawrence and its tributary rivers were distrusted by war and cramped by a system of government most antagonistic to colonial growth. The more liberal institutions of the old English colonies of America gave greater scope to the industrial activity of their people, and prepared them for all the legitimate results of national independence. For many years after Canada became a British possession she continued to occupy the same disadvantageous position. The British American Provinces were always overshadowed by the powerful republican confederation to their south. Previous to 1840, there was certainly some reason for the unfavourable comparisons that English statesmen and writers were always making between the two countries. "The contrast which I have described," said Lord Durham in his report, "is the theme of every traveller who visits these countries, and who observes on one side of the line the abundance, and on the other the scarcity, of every sign of material prosperity which thriving agricultural and flourishing cities indicate, and of that civilization which schools and churches testify to the outward senses." These words were true enough when written, over forty years ago, while Canada was torn asunder by intestine strife. The union of 1840, however, caused a remarkable change in the material, social, and intellectual development of the Canadian Provinces, and, with the progress of free institutions and responsible government, schools were established in every direction, commerce flourished, and villages, towns and cities sprang up all over the face of the country. But, as a rule, the United States have continued the cynosure of attraction for the European emigrant, anxious to change his

poverty in the over-crowded old world for the new hopes and aspirations that America offers to himself and children. The influence of immigration on the relative progress of Canada and the United States during the past forty years, whilst the former has enjoyed self-government in its fullest sense, and has assumed almost national responsibilities, may be estimated from the fact that to-day one has a population of fifty millions, and the other only between four and five millions of inhabitants. Yet both countries entered on their work on this continent about the same time in the world's history. Quebec and Port Royal were in existence when the Puritan pioneers were toiling among the rocks of New England. But ever since Canada became a dependency of Great Britain, her progress has been more or less retarded by the fact of her close neighbourhood to the American Republic. Millions of British subjects have ignored the existence of a section of the Empire, where they could find every legitimate comfort and happiness, without forswearing their natural allegiance. A stranger to Canada and her resources would naturally suppose, on revising the statistics of emigration in the past, that there must be some radical weakness in the political institutions of the Dominion, some illiberality in its system of government, or some insurmountable objection arising from soil or climate, or a comparatively limited sphere of natural resources, to account for the remarkable preference so systematically shown by the European world for the American States when it becomes a question of leaving the old home for one beyond the seas. No doubt a great deal of ignorance has prevailed, and still prevails, with respect to the advantages that Canada offers as a home. Nor would it be difficult now-a-days to find in the utterances of some English statesmen and writers more encouragement for the United States than for the Canadian provinces with, so far, certainly, have shown no other aspiration than to work out their national destiny in the closest possible connection with the Empire. So distinguished a writer as Mr. Goldwin Smith, since he has become more closely identified with Canada, has never ceased throwing his *douche* of cold water on Canadian aspirations, or advocating that "Continental system" which, once carried out, would eventually make the Dominion a member of the American Union. Happily for Canada, an amount of interest is being at last taken in her affairs that would have been impossible not many years ago, when the visits of Canadians to London were generally associated with colonial grievances, and the assistance of the Am-

erican Minister had to be evoked on some occasions to obtain "provincials" an introduction into particular circles. The development of the vast North-west Territory simultaneously with the agrarian difficulties and agricultural distress in Great Britain and Ireland, has had the very natural effect of opening the eyes of some British economists to the value of the Dominion, when compared with the United States, as a desirable field of immigration; and it will be most fortunate for the Empire if this growing interest in Canada should have some practical effect in diverting the stream of British emigration from the United States into England's most prosperous dependency. In such a case, the very condition of Ireland itself may be used to benefit the Empire. The Irish make up no inconsiderable proportion of the large immigration that has passed into the United States for the past two or three years. It is a sad admission, but nevertheless true, that a large number carry with them into their new home a feeling of bitterness against England, which, sooner or later, finds expression in her trials and difficulties. On the other hand, the Irish element in Canada forms an influential section of the population, orderly, industrious, occupying positions of trust and responsibility in all parts of the Confederation; and it is a fact that in the enjoyment of civil and religious liberty, and in the absence of old grievances, the Irishman is happy and contented, and seems to have forgotten those times when he was so restless a subject of the Crown. In view, then, of the happy results that have illustrated the career of the Irishman in Canada, it is unfortunate for the Empire that this class should, as a rule, go to build up the fortunes of the United States, instead of being induced to come into a country where, in the course of no long time, as experience has shown us, they must forget their old animosities and cheerfully testify to the value of the institutions that make Canada one of the happiest countries in the Empire.

It is undoubtedly a matter of pride to Canadians that a kindred people should in the course of a century of national existence have made such remarkable material, as well as intellectual, progress. The United States must necessarily continue in the career of national prosperity that has distinguished them for many a decade. Their system of government, despite certain inherent elements of weakness to which we shall allude further on, has in itself that influence which stimulates the pride and ambition of the people, since the highest honours are open to the humblest. The spirit of the country is essen-

tially commercial, and yet nowhere is intellectual culture being developed more rapidly than among the people of the United States. The variety of climate and resources—the cotton and sugar of the South, the wheat and corn of the North and West, the oranges and grapes of California and Florida, the gold and silver of Colorado and the Pacific States, are among the examples of the remarkable resources that abound in the Republic. But whilst admitting the wonderful enterprise and the immense natural wealth of their neighbours, Canadians who know their own country well are not prepared to confess that the Dominion, when compared with its great rival, offers in every way far inferior advantages as a home for the millions of people who are giving the preference to the latter. Canadians cannot help feeling that the superiority that the United States have now in wealth and population, would not be quite so striking had the statesmen and people of Great Britain been, years ago, more alive to the importance of a national policy of emigration in connection with the Colonies that would direct systematically the stream of population to those portions of the Empire that seem best calculated to develop the highest attributes of British energy.

In the past the victory has been with the United States, and it must be admitted that the world has gained much by the success of the Republic in building up new States through the aid of European emigrants. Canadians themselves are proud of such brilliant achievements, and believe that they foreshadow the career of their own country in the immediate future. In this paper we propose to group together, as concisely as possible, such facts and arguments as clearly prove that there are certain material, social and political considerations which render the Dominion a most desirable home for all classes of industrious people, especially for those who have a small amount of capital and are ready to take up lands in the old provinces or in the new territories. We wish to present such salient facts as may especially attract the attention of those educated, thoughtful men whose influence ought to radiate among the classes who are anxious to try their fortune in a new country. It is to such men Canada looks for sympathy and assistance in the national work in which she is now engaged: for that work may well be called *national* which consists in developing the resources of an important dependency with no other or higher aspirations than to strengthen and draw closer, if possible, the bonds of connection between the

parent State and the Dominion. With this object in view we shall, in the course of this article, present to our readers such facts as, to the minds of a Canadian, seem to render a Canadian home more desirable than any other, in any land whatsoever, for that large class—unhappily for the old world far too large—who find life a never-ceasing, unfruitful struggle, cramping all their best energies, and leaving them too often at last mere wrecks on the shore of hopeless poverty,

Considerations of national sympathy for a people who have always been attached to the Empire and its institutions should influence Englishmen to throw the weight of their assistance in favour of Canada; but looking at the matter more practically, it is hardly to be expected that any such national sentiment can prevail with that class who wish to make new homes for themselves and children. When men and women have toiled and slaved for years, amid surroundings of utter wretchedness, in the old world, it almost seems natural that they should come to think, when they think at all, that they must forswear their natural allegiance and seek new homes under a foreign flag. Perhaps some such feeling may often turn the scale against Canada when men are hesitating between the United States and a colony, which, in the minds of many, is even yet wrongly associated with inferiority in some shape or other. Be that as it may, the astonishing progress of the American States, and the comparatively humble position which Canada is still supposed to occupy, have certainly some effect on the minds of the European masses in the way of leading them to suppose that their future prosperity depends on their residence in the American Union. We are convinced, however, that the immigrant, whether small capitalist or humble settler with little more than his industry to aid him, will soon find by experience that the Dominion offers him every comfort and advantage that he can fairly expect. In not a few respects indeed, he will find that Canada is making greater progress than her neighbor, and there are more advantages open to men in the provinces and new territory of the Dominion than in many States of the American Confederation.

Several considerations will naturally prevail with an emigrant of ordinary intelligence when he is considering the question of his future home. In the first place, the all-engrossing question will be whether Canada possesses those resources within herself which will enable him to invest his capital with safety and advantage, whether that capital be represented by his money or his labour. The stability and freedom of its

government must also be a question of all-engrossing interest to men about to embark on a venture, where they risk all in a new world. Some may associate lawlessness and peril with new homes in the vast districts which Canada is now opening up to the world, and may be in doubt whether a mere dependency is equal to the task of assuring their comfort and security in the Western wilderness. Others, again, will enquire, with much curiosity, into the social characteristics of the country. Among the emigrants who come yearly into America there is always a proportion of persons with pecuniary means and social tendencies, who desire to live in the vicinity of the towns and older settlements, and who must be more or less prepossessed in favour of a country which offers them educational facilities not surpassed in any country as well as many luxuries and comforts not attainable except by the rich in older lands. No doubt the man who has no other alternative before him than to go at once into the forest with his axe, and build a log hut—and such a person represents the mass of emigrants—thinks little for the time being of educational or social advantages. But as time slips by, and the sunlight dances over his broadening clearings, and his neighbours crowd upon his farm, he begins to be animated by the ambition natural to his improved condition, and to think at last of the education and future of his children. Then, as he looks around, he will soon learn that the public men of the country where he has made his home have perfected a system which enables the people of every section of the Dominion to educate their children. In this, as in all other respects conducive to the happiness and prosperity of a people, we shall see that Canada compares most favorably with her powerful neighbours, notwithstanding that they have succeeded, by their remarkable energy and enterprise, in leaving her far behind in the competition for the wealth and population of the old world.

Nearly all the natural advantages possessed by the United States exist in a greater or less measure in the Dominion. We may leave out of consideration the Southern States, where the population that yearly flocks into America hardly ventures; for the tropical heats of those regions repel the northern races, who make up the great majority of emigrants. It is to the north and west that the hopes of Europeans are directed, and it is certain that the Dominion has a soil and climate no way inferior for the sustenance of life and the growth of all those valuable products which are most in demand the world over.

The fisheries of the provinces, including those of the Pacific Coast, and the lakes of the interior, are confessedly the most valuable in the world, and have mainly aided in developing that important marine, which now places Canada in so high a position among maritime powers. Her maritime interest alone—that is to say, her fisheries and ships—has an estimated annual value of at least ten millions of pounds sterling. The agricultural interest takes a very extended range, increasing in importance as the traveller goes West. The annual export of agricultural produce alone now reaches upwards of twelve millions of pounds, of which between £600,000 and £800,000 are represented by horned cattle. On the Atlantic and Pacific Coasts are very extensive coal areas, sufficient to supply for centuries untold millions of people on this continent. The coal of Nova Scotia and Vancouver is bituminous, and excellent for domestic and manufacturing purposes—the annual export being valued at over £600,000, apart from the large output used by the people themselves in the provinces. The Pacific States of the union must depend for their supply on the rich mines of Vancouver, which are only in the infancy of their development. The forests continue to supply superior pine timber to England and the United States—the annual export being some four millions of pounds. Though the gold area of Canada is insignificant, so far as it is known, compared with that of the United States, yet British Columbia sends abroad nuggets, bars, and dust of the annual value of £200,000. The iron, copper, phosphates and building stones of the provinces have a good reputation abroad, and are being gradually developed in the face of many obstacles, chiefly the want of sufficient capital. The progress in all these industries, so varied and valuable in their nature, is steady and encouraging—enterprising Americans themselves coming into the country year by year, and bringing their capital and energy to bear on the development of the forest and sea.

But it is to her agricultural interest that Canada must always look, as the great source of her future prosperity. All the grains and fruits to be found in northern latitudes flourish most successfully, in every section of the Dominion once despised by a king of France as a worthless region of frost and snow. Valuable tracts of farming lands exist in all the provinces, even in Nova Scotia, with its rock-bound coast of noble harbours, where more vessels are owned in proportion to the population than in any State in the American Union. The farming lands of New Brunswick and Quebec are of large area, and there are still districts where, in those provinces,

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emigrants—especially those with a little capital—can find comfortable homes. Prince Edward Island is of limited extent, but it is a garden capable of bearing the most prolific crops. It is, however, in Ontario, with its large area of fine soil and temperate climate, modified by its situation on the Great Lakes, that agriculture has found its most successful development. One may travel for days by the different lines of railway that intersect this noble province, and see on all sides comfortable houses of stone or brick, and wide stretches of fields of wheat and other crops. It is true many farmers are at present leaving Ontario for Manitoba and the North-west, but these represent, for the most part, either men dissatisfied with their present homes in some less favoured locality, or those carried away by the allurement of a new existence in the West. The majority, however, illustrate that spirit of restlessness so peculiar to the American character, which sends men year by year from New England and the older States, to found homes in the new territories—that very spirit which has built up Illinois and every great commonwealth in the West. Still, Ontario is the wealthiest, most enterprising and populous member of the Confederation. Her population continues to increase, and her prosperity to expand, in a greater ratio than the older States of the American Union. She has always a large surplus crop to export abroad. Her production of wheat is above the average of that of most American States, and nowhere in America is there finer stock, except perhaps in the eastern townships of Quebec, always noted for its good farms and thoroughbred cattle. In Ontario we see the finest cities and towns of the Dominion, excepting Montreal, which has to a large extent been built up by Western trade. Toronto, Hamilton, Ottawa, London, Kingston, St. Catharines, Brantford, in the character of their buildings and the energy of their people, illustrate that proverbial Western "go-aheaditiveness" which Americans would like to claim exclusively for themselves. The most striking effect of the rapid increase of population in America is the rise and growth of Western towns and cities. At the head of a lake, or where a stream empties into one of those inland seas, and forms a natural harbour, or upon the bank of a navigable river which flows through a fertile country, a pioneer, or an adventurous speculator sets himself down, and says that "here shall be a city." If his judgment be good, and the country around his imaginary "Thebes and Athens" be inviting, the waves of population which flow westward, stop for a time at his "location," and actually verify his dream. This is

literally the history of the foundation of Brantford and London, and many other places in Canada. Not an inhabitant of these places but can recount numerous instances of property, now worth thousands, even tens of thousands of pounds, being bought not very many years ago for a cow or a horse, or a small quantity of goods out of a shop, or a few weeks or a month's labour of a mechanic. The prosperity of one of the wealthiest families in Ottawa was founded on a tract of land given for payment of wages. These things form the topics of fireside history in these places. The poor refer to them as foundations for hope. The rich regard them as matters of congratulation. The speculator and the man of enterprise learn from them how and where to found a town and to make a bold bid for fortune.

It is in that vast North-west territory, to which so much attention is now being directed, that we may expect to see for decades to come those illustrations of progress of which Illinois and other Western States are remarkable examples. The extent and value of that immense region, watered by the Red, Saskatchewan, Athabasca, and Peace Rivers, besides other streams of minor importance, cannot yet be very accurately stated; but the explorations of the Government, and the pioneers who have already ventured into its solitudes, demonstrate that there is a sufficient area of rich land, out of which probably *ten* States, as large and productive as Illinois, may be eventually made. Reams have already been written during the last ten years concerning this country; and every tourist who spends a few weeks on the prairie thinks himself bound to give the public the benefit of his experience in some shape or other. Much allowance must of course be made for the enthusiasm of travellers and speculators, as well as for that spirit of patriotism which makes us eulogists of one's own country; but at any rate there can be no question that, sooner or later, the great centre of the agricultural production of Canada will be found in the new provinces that are in course of development in the North-west. American authorities themselves admit that the land of the Red River Valley, as well as of the Saskatchewan and Peace River country, so far as it is known, is more prolific than that of any Western State. One writer, in a very widely-circulated periodical,* does not hesitate to express the opinion that "this country produces the cereals in a state of perfection which has not manifested itself further south." It appears, from all the data at hand, "that the

* *Harper's Monthly* for September, 1881, "Wheat Fields of the North-west."

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latitude and soil of the North-west are remarkably adapted to the cultivation of wheat." In a climate warmer than is needed to bring it to maturity, wheat shows an imperfect development of grain, with a deficiency in weight. It is always more subject to drought, the hot sun acting both to evaporate moisture from the ground and to burn the plant afterwards. The superior quality of the wheat raised in this new country may be better understood by reference to the relative market values of northern and southern grains at Buffalo, where what is called "No. 1 Hard Duluth" was quoted last season about two-pence a bushel higher than "No. 1 Red Winter," and a penny three-farthings higher than "No. 1 Spring," and from four to sevenpence higher than the inferior grades of wheat grown in a more southern region; whilst the flour from the same superior hard wheat brought eight shillings more a barrel. The secret of its superiority lies in the fact that the wheat of the northern latitude makes a flour of greater strength. The northern wheat is flinty, and contains more gluten; the southern is soft, and contains more starch. It is also stated, on unexceptional authority, that throughout the North-west wheat may be planted in April, or fully as early as spring wheat is sown in the United States. As respects the rapidity of growth, the explanation is very simple. Situated in a high latitude, there is afforded to vegetation a greater number of hours of sun each day during the entire season. The winter cold, continuous, and with light falls of snow, freezes the ground to an extraordinary depth. Under the disintegrating power of frost, the lower soil is broken up each season, for the sustenance of plants, as thoroughly as if done by the best artificial means. Later, throughout the period of growth, it keeps within reach of the roots a moisture which renders drought impossible. The soil of the Red River valley is an alluvial black loam, with an average depth of twenty inches, resting on a subsoil of clay. It is an established fact, that the average yield of wheat per acre is twenty-nine bushels, as against seventeen in Illinois and Wisconsin; of barley, forty, against seventeen in Illinois and twenty-five in Minnesota; of oats, fifty-seven, as against twenty-eight in Iowa and thirty-seven in Minnesota. It is the opinion of the same American authority, already quoted as that of an impartial observer, "that the attention of the United States will, within a few years, be drawn sharply by the supply of grain coming from this new quarter, if the reclamation of land goes on with its present movement." With the advent of better means of intercommunication, there is every reason to believe that "the develop-

ment of the interior will continue at its present rate, and even go forward with a rapidity never witnessed before. However uncertain may be its effects on the United States, we may expect that the centre of activity in wheat, never very stable, will soon pass to the Red River Valley, to go, later still, further to the northward.

The progress we may expect in this territory year by year may be illustrated, in a measure, by the fact, that during 1881, in the State of Kansas, no less than 15,000 buildings were erected by new settlers, some 700,000 acres of wild land reclaimed, and 350 school houses built at a cost of £40,000. The population of Ontario increased 300 per cent. in twenty years from 1841 to 1861, during which the largest immigration took place into the province. Toronto increased 95 per cent. in the same period. Already there are indications that the progress of the North-west will be more rapid than that of Ontario, but much depends on the interest taken by England in its development. Winnipeg, in 1870, had only a population of 300 souls, and when incorporated as a city in 1873, the number did not exceed 2,300; whilst now, in seven years' time, it has increased to over 20,000—showing a more remarkable increase than any city or town in the West—with the prospect of becoming the Chicago, the distributing point of the great country around and beyond it as far as the Rocky Mountains.

"Nowhere," said Lord Lorne, in a recent admirable address, "will you find a situation whose natural advantages promise so great a future as that which seems reserved to Manitoba, and to Winnipeg, the heart-city of the Dominion. The measureless meadows which commence here stretch, without interruption of their good soil, westward to the boundary of the province. Manitoba is a green sea, over which the summer winds pass onward, quietly stirring the rich grasses and flowers; and on this vast extent of fertile land it is only as yet here and there that a yellow patch shows some gigantic wheat-field."

These "yellow patches" promise to stretch far and wide in this fine wheat land. Cities in embryo are being already "located" at points which Nature seems to have destined for a centre of trade. Emerson is already a considerable town, while Rapid City and Battleford promise to be of importance. Most sanguine hopes are entertained that the visit of His Excellency the Governor General, who has gone over a very large portion of the North-west, will have a beneficial effect, in showing the British people the favourable opinion entertained by that nobleman of the vast region from which Canada expects so much in the future. Sooner or later this

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country must become the wheat granary of the Continent, and feed millions in Europe. To the people of the old world the progress of these new countries is something astonishing. The same facts are sure to present themselves in every new territory opened up in the West. To-day there becomes to-morrow, as if by a miracle; prophecy is so swiftly succeeded by fulfilment, that the two may be almost said to move hand in hand together. The railroad creates traffic, instead of being created by it; farms are multiplied with a rapidity that confounds all calculation; the minister, the schoolmaster, the milliner, and the music-teacher, come in with the first crop; the newspaper is printed under a tree—

“ While city lots are staked for sale
Above old Indian graves.”

In her foresight to open all the avenues possible to her great Western trade, and carry it to the ocean for distribution to the European market, Canada has fully kept pace with her American rival. Nature has endowed the Dominion with a noble artery of communication from the Great Lakes to the sea in the St. Lawrence, as remarkable for its picturesque scenery as for its commercial value. Of the great rivers of the American continent none surpasses the St. Lawrence in the length of its navigation, the volume of its waters, or the fertility of the vast area of country of which it forms the highway of communication with the Atlantic Ocean. Following it, not from its remote sources, but from Fond de Lac, at the head of Lake Superior, to the Straits of Belle Isle, the entire distance is nearly three thousand statute miles. In order to appreciate to the fullest extent the importance of this river from a commercial point of view, it is only necessary to consider its natural position and its relations to the vast area of country which extends from the Appalachian or Alleghany Range on the east, to the Rocky Mountains on the western, or Pacific side of the continent. The resources of the territory to which the St. Lawrence and the Great Lakes are tributary, and from the natural communication with the ocean, are most varied, and have been developed of late years to an extent without a parallel in the history of commercial enterprise. At an early date in the history of Upper Canada, her public men were carried away by an ambition to make this river the great thoroughfare of the Western region to the ocean, and went into large expenditures for canals. After the Union of 1840, the same wise policy was carried out, and up to the present time over ten millions of

pounds have been expended on the St. Lawrence system of navigation, so that the largest class of lake vessels may float from the upper lakes to the head of ocean navigation, without once breaking bulk. The new Welland Canal, now drawing to completion, is justly described by American writers: "A Titanic work, by which Canadians hope to divert the carrying trade, not only from Buffalo, but even from New York, and to control the exports of the mighty West for more than half the year."

The railway system of Canada is another illustration of the practical energy and prescience of the Canadian people in their efforts to hold their own against American competition. Of the fifty-nine States and kingdoms of the world which have Railway systems, Canada already ranks as the *eighth* in absolute mileage, and the *fifth* in the number of miles to each inhabitant. The Grand Trunk Railway parallels the St. Lawrence system of navigation, and extends beyond the Montreal headquarters as far to the east as Quebec and Portland. The traffic on this great thoroughfare is already enormous, and grain to the value of £300,000 is stated to be yearly transported by this route. The early history of this road was one of great extravagance and jobbery, as its original English stockholders unhappily know too well, but in these later times it keeps pace, under its present prudent, energetic management, with the general prosperity of the country, and especially of the West, from which it draws its main supplies. Connecting with the Grand Trunk at Levis, is the Intercolonial Railway, a Government work, which passes through New Brunswick and Nova Scotia to Halifax, on the Atlantic seaboard, with branch line stretching to St. John, and to the Gut of Canso, whence it must soon have connection with the historic port of Louisbourg, the nearest to Europe. Along the north shore of the St. Lawrence, stretches from Quebec to beyond Ottawa another line of railway, to some extent a competitor of the Grand Trunk. The Great Western of Canada taps important points of the western American frontier, and assists in the development of western commerce. Numerous subsidiary lines run from cities and towns into fertile mining and agricultural districts, and help to swell the large traffic that now illustrates the industry and enterprise of the Canadian people. That eminently national project, the Canadian Pacific Railway, represents a continuous railway route of nearly three thousand miles from the Pacific Ocean overland to Montreal, and yet some six hundred miles less than the distance by the Union Pacific Railway to New York. On its immediate construction

depends to a very great extent the future of Canada, for, with the development of the North-west, a new era must open up for the Canadian people. By the autumn of 1883 there will be railway connection, at least to the foot of the Rocky Mountains, through a country of whose surpassing fertility Lord Lorne has given his personal testimony in eloquent terms. Branch lines are contemplated in various directions, one of them to Hudson's Bay, by the Nelson River route; and it is quite within the possibilities of the future that the demands of North-western commerce will eventually open up this new route, which offers certainly three months' communication with Europe. It is said on good authority, that the Northern Pacific Railway, now that the United States have entered on a new era of commercial enterprise, will be vigorously carried to completion by 1883; and as the Canadian Pacific will have connection with it by its branch lines, the North-west will not want facilities for trade in future. The powerful syndicate which now controls the Canadian Pacific are offering large inducements to actual settlers in the easy terms at which they are selling the valuable tracts of land which they owe to the liberality of the Canadian Government; and it now looks as if the efforts which the Company and the Canadian authorities are making in the direction of the North-west development will meet during the coming years with a response from the British people which will assure the future of that region. But the fact which we now wish to impress particularly on the British public is the comprehensiveness and foresight of the Canadian policy for the development of their new territory, and for keeping within natural lines the right to handle its valuable products. At present there are over eight thousand miles of railway constructed throughout the Dominion, and in 1881, the last year of which the official statistics have been published, there was an increase of £90 16s. a mile over 1880 in the earnings of the railways in operation, and the net profits amounted to over £1,400,000. And it is certain there will be a corresponding increase during the present year, which has been distinguished for activity in all branches of commerce. The liberality of the Canadian people in matters affecting their commerce may be illustrated by the fact that they have contributed up to the present time over two hundred millions of dollars, or forty millions of pounds sterling, to the canal and railway system of the Dominion, in the shape of Dominion, Provincial, or Municipal aid. These facts are, perhaps, an all-sufficient answer to those English writers

who, from time to time, are accusing Canada of extravagance, and pointing to her Federal and Provincial debts as so many reasons why English capitalists should lend no assistance to her schemes of development. The large sums that Canada has been for years, or is now, expending upon the Intercolonial and Pacific Railways, have been directed toward strengthening Imperial interests on this continent. To these works, which are certainly Imperial in their conception, the British Government has given no substantial aid, except on one occasion—viz., when it gave the latter an Imperial guarantee.

Another fact may most properly be noticed in this connection. The development of the North-west must give a very valuable impulse to the capital and enterprise in the older provinces, which have already built up so splendid a commercial marine. British and Canadian ships must carry the bulk of the Western trade of the future. It is a notorious fact that American trade continues to a large extent to be carried in foreign bottoms. The *New York World*, on the day after President Garfield's funeral, observed:—"On Tuesday last flags of mourning floated at half-mast from 57 ocean steamships, 53 ships, 246 barques, 49 brigs, and 189 schooners, riding in the port of New York, and making a total of 594 vessels. *Of the ocean steamships every one, and of the other vessels two-thirds, displayed the flags of foreign powers.*" Whilst the American marine is at so low an ebb, the Canadians still build and employ a large fleet. In 1881 the United States, with a population of fifty millions of people, had a commercial marine of only four millions of tons, of which one million was employed on Northern lakes and Western rivers. In 1880-81, the registered marine of Canada, with about one-twelfth of the population of her neighbour, amounted to one million three hundred thousand tons. The Canadians, therefore, naturally expect that, with the extension of commerce in the North-west, their marine will be built up to dimensions which may enable her eventually to rank above the United States, and next to Great Britain on the list of maritime powers.

If we direct our attention to the social condition of the Dominion, we shall find that the older provinces offer many advantages to those who wish to make a home therein. It is hardly necessary to state that the pioneers in the North-west must expect to encounter privations and difficulties in the first years of their residence. But these new communities of the West make very rapid progress when railways once make their appearance; and it is safe to say that a decade hence Manitoba, and the new provinces to be formed in the North-

west, will not be much behind the older provinces as respects their social condition. A very few years work a striking metamorphosis in the life of the industrious pioneer. The writer recollects his first visit, just twenty years ago, to a young settlement in a Western county. In a rude log cabin, in the midst of a small pine clearing, a young English couple were endeavouring to make a home, some twenty miles from the nearest village. Some patches of wheat and potatoes were struggling among the stumps, and a cow and horse represented the stock. The young man and his wife were courageous Devon folks, rather better educated than the generality of English peasants, and year by year the sun ripened wider patches, and broad fields without a stump illustrated the energy and industry of the pioneer, whilst communication improved, and a village with schools and churches grew up three miles distant, at the side of a little stream which turned several mills. Last autumn the writer visited the same place, but the log cabin had given place to a snug brick cottage, behind which large frame barns showed the farmer's wealth in grain and stock. The house itself had many comforts, and even luxuries, which people in the same condition of life in England could hardly have looked for. A piano, pictures, carpets, and walnut furniture were seen in the sitting-room, whilst in the kitchen and store-room were many evidences of good cheer. Three sturdy lads and two buxom girls, educated at the village school, represented the new generation of Canadians, brought up in substantial comfort, and knowing nothing of the poverty and privations of their English parents. The writer drove to the village on a market day, and counted no less than twenty-seven "buggies," and numerous waggons, belonging to the farmers who settled in the forest a quarter of a century or less before, and who now come to sell their produce to the dealers. So must it be in the settlements of the Northwest during the coming years.

Canada is undoubtedly the home for people of small means, who find it difficult to make both ends meet in the old world. A man with an income from £100 to £200 a year may buy a small farm or patch in the vicinity of a town or city, and enjoy an amount of comfort and independence which would not be possible in the crowded, more expensive world of European competition. Four hundred pounds in Canada will give more comfort than three times that sum in England. The Canadian people live as well as their American neighbours. All the necessaries of life are cheap and abundant. The land produces those fruits which are not within the reach of the poorer

classes in Great Britain. Apples and plums grow in great profusion in all the provinces, while peaches and grapes ripen perfectly in Ontario. Grapes are yearly becoming a large crop, entering into the consumption of all classes, and are made into wines which compare favourably with the cheaper light wines of France and Germany. If we look at the imports of Canada, we obtain some idea of the mode of life, so far as it is illustrated by purchases from foreign countries. Canadians pay annually to England no less than £1,600,000 for woollen goods, and £2,000,000 for cotton manufactures; but such articles are necessities, and we must therefore look further down the list for evidences of expensive tastes. Between £400,000 and £600,000 are paid for silks; £200,000 for hats, caps and bonnets; £100,000 for furs; £100,000 for jewelry and gold and silver manufactures; and over £200,000 for tobacco and cigars. Their houses require English oilcloths and carpets to the value of £150,000, of which the greater amount was paid for Brussels and tapestry. Watches and clocks are bought to the value of £50,000; musical instruments to the value of £60,000. The large consumption of tea, coffee and sugar in Canada can be seen from the fact that the people pay between £1,400,000 and £1,600,000 a year for these articles. They pay other countries nearly £200,000 for the paper used in journalism, books, counting-houses, and house decoration. Carriages are bought to the value of £30,000; and so we might go on extending the list of foreign purchases, which show how substantially, and even luxuriously, Canadians live. These figures increase every year as the purchasing power of the country improves. The imports for 1880-1 reached about £21,000,000, or four millions in excess of the previous year, and there is a considerable increase over these figures for the fiscal year ending on the 30th of June, 1882. Nor must it be forgotten that Canada herself is now a manufacturing country, and her people are buying largely every year, as well as exporting, fine pianos, carriages, boots and shoes, paper, tweeds, and sugars, with other articles manufactured cheaply and well in their own country. The ability of the people to buy such articles can be estimated from the fact that the people annually deposit in chartered banks, Government, and other savings banks, and building societies, over £20,000,000, and that the annual exports of the whole country are keeping pace with the imports, thanks to superabundant harvests, and a steady foreign demand for the products of the land and sea.

The Canadians have always had a hard fight with the forest and sea, but now that their early struggles are over, and they

have won comfortable, even luxurious homes for themselves and children, they have commenced to give those evidences of culture which come with an older and prosperous condition of society. Long ago, did they lay broad and deep the foundations of culture, by establishing and developing a system of education for poor and rich alike, which can bear comparison with that of Prussia or the New England States, and in some respects a superiority to either. Forty years ago, hardly *one in fifteen* of the children of Canada attended any school; now the proportion is *one in four*. The universities, colleges and high schools of the Dominion number five hundred, and the public or common schools fourteen thousand, attended by over a million of pupils, and supported by an annual contribution from State and people of over £1,400,000. The province of Ontario—in education, as in other respects, the premier province—contributes annually between £600,000 and £800,000 for all school purposes, or one hundred per cent. more than in 1867-8; and it is only necessary to visit her five thousand or more commodious and handsome buildings, well fitted with modern desks and apparatus, to see how generously and usefully the money is applied. From 1855 to the present time there has been some £140,000 expended for maps, apparatus and prize books, exclusive of the Public Free Libraries, which now possess some three hundred thousand volumes, which have cost the country at least £36,000. The grand total of library and prize books distributed to the counties of the province during a quarter of a century has been nearly a million and a half of volumes—so many auxiliaries to the intellectual culture of classes of the people, whose means of obtaining instructive literature have necessarily been limited; and it is safe to assert that the parent State in this respect is very far behind her young colonial dependency. The people of the Dominion import annually £200,000 worth of books and periodicals, which, taken in connection with the thirty millions of newspapers and periodicals that pass annually through Canadian post offices, proves how eagerly Canadians of all classes seek for literary and general information. But Canada does not depend exclusively on the outside world for literary food, or news intelligence, for her four or five hundred daily and weekly papers—now deservedly standing high for enterprise and tone, supply every section of the Dominion with a large amount of reading matter. Even the North-west, which had only one paper ten years ago, has now sixteen at least, of which three are dailies. Canadian writers are increasing in number and ability, and year by year histories are produced

of no mean order; and it is an interesting fact that the majority of these works deal with different epochs of the past of Canada, illustrating the national or Canadian spirit that is growing among all classes of the people. The churches and public buildings compare favourably with the handsomest edifices in the "Empire State" of New York, and the interior of Canadian homes illustrates the general refinement and taste of the people. Twelve years ago, theatrical performances had to be held in buildings of a most inferior character—mere wooden "shanties" in some cases—but now all the cities and large towns possess one or more handsome opera-houses, well adapted in every way to their object. Another illustration of the spirit of culture that is abroad in Canada, hitherto considered so prosaic and utilitarian a country, "so dreadfully new," is the establishment of art schools in the large centres, and of a Canadian Academy—the result of the laudable desire of the Marquis of Lorne and the Princess Louise to stimulate a taste for art among the people; and it is a very interesting fact that there are already several cases of young men who having embraced art as a profession, have proceeded within a few months to the great schools of Europe to obtain that thorough artistic training which can alone be found among the master-pieces of modern and ancient painting and sculpture. Literary and Scientific Societies exist in all the cities and towns—even in Winnipeg—and the Dominion owes to the exertions of the Marquis of Lorne the foundation of a Royal Society, which comprises not a few men of high talent, some of whom have even won for themselves distinguished places in that great society of the parent State, which first came into existence in the days of the Stuart Kings, and has ever since made such valuable contributions to the practical science of the world. It is a significant fact, which should be mentioned in this connection, that the value of the paintings and engravings of a good class annually brought into the country now amounts to over £100,000, all of which are imported free, with the view of affording as much encouragement as possible to so desirable an agency of culture. The foregoing facts are but a few among the evidences that can now be seen in Canada to prove the progress of art, literature and science in a country the greater portion of which, a half-century ago, was a solitude of river and forest. It is probably yet difficult to disabuse the minds of certain classes of English people of the old idea that Canadians are, for the most part, rough and uncultured. Thanks to the English illustrated papers, the average native is generally represented as a white man in a blanket coat, with

sash and capote, travelling on snow shoes; and we may consider it fortunate that he has risen so far in the scale of civilization as not to be pictured in complete Indian costume of paint and feathers. The social pleasures of the people are still believed in certain quarters to be made up in a great measure of tobogganing, skating, shooting rapids, salmon fishing, or camping in the vicinity of interesting groups of Indians. It is true these are Canadian amusements—very novel and interesting to English tourists; but it does not follow that they sum up the social enjoyments of the better classes. Those writers and artists who describe exceptional phases of Canadian life might just as well make us believe that "the professional beauty" typifies the lives of the mothers and daughters of England, or that all the culture of London is "utterly utter" and "quite too too." If there are any who wish to study the social characteristics of the Canadians, let them do something more than rush through the Dominion; let them remain some months, and visit the homes of the people, in town and country, and learn that knowledge and taste are not necessarily confined to the parent State, but may actually flourish in a mere dependency, which was only a poor, struggling French colony when Addison was writing his essays in the *Spectator*, and Handel was producing those noble oratorios, as remarkable for their musical expression as for the sublimity of their conception.

The political institutions of Canada, whose material and social condition has so far engaged our attention, seem admirably adapted to stimulate national energy, and give the largest amount of liberty compatible with order and good government. Previous to 1840, the provinces were agitated by political troubles, which found at last a happy solution in the extension of popular rights and the concession of responsible government. The provinces were therefore governed under a system, "the image and transcript of the British Constitution," so far as it could be made to apply to a colonial dependency. According as the sphere of political action was enlarged in the provinces there was a corresponding increase of prosperity among all classes. English statesmen learned by experience that a people in a dependency could only be retained in the Empire by conceding to them the powers of self-government in the fullest sense of the term, and only exercising control over matters of Imperial import through a Governor-General, acting on behalf of, and responsible to, the Crown. The confidence felt in the ability of the British American people to assume still higher responsibilities as a self-governing com-

munity, was forcibly illustrated by the readiness with which the Confederation of 1867 was agreed to by the Imperial Government. The result has proved the practical wisdom of the promoters of that national scheme. The different provinces have been harmoniously united under a Federal system, which has developed the internal resources of the provinces, and at the same time given them a status of importance and responsibility in the Empire which would have been impossible as long as they remained isolated from one another. In maturing this system the Canadian people have had before them the practical experience of two great nations, England and the United States, from both of whom they have necessarily and wisely borrowed certain political institutions. The federal system of Canada is modelled to a great extent on that of the United States, which a century has already proved to be in many respects most admirably adjusted to the circumstances of a number of free communities, having certain distinct rights and interests which they wish to keep intact, whilst united at the same time under a general Government. But in one, and that a most important respect, the Canadian system appears to have a greater element of strength than its American prototype, and that is, in the distribution of the relative powers of the Federal and Provincial Governments. In the American system, each State is sovereign, and reserves to itself all powers not expressly conceded under the Constitution to the Federal Government, and hence has arisen that doctrine of State Sovereignty, which obtained such prominence previous to the Civil War, and is yet a fundamental principle, never practically yielded by a single State in the Union. In the Canadian system the very reverse principle obtains: the exclusive legislative power of the local legislatures is limited to the subjects specifically assigned to them by the Act of Union; all other powers of legislation for "the welfare and good government of the Dominion," including those which are specially assigned to the Dominion Parliament, are expressly and exclusively conferred upon the Parliament of Canada. In fact, "the authority of the Federal power over the matters left under its control is exclusive, full and absolute; whilst even as regards at least some of the matters left to the Provincial Legislatures, their authority cannot be construed as being similarly full and exclusive, when, by such construction, the Federal power over matters especially left under its control would be lessened, restrained or impaired."* In all matters of constitutional con-

* Judgment of Supreme Court of Canada, October 28, 1879.

troversy as to the respective powers of the Parliament and legislatures, the decision of the highest courts has been emphatically to secure to the Dominion Parliament the exclusive control and determination of all questions of national significance, and to restrain the local legislatures within the limits of their clearly defined statutory powers. Consequently, the Provincial Governments are not so many State sovereignties, asserting rights which, sooner or later, might threaten the peace and stability of the general Government, on whose strength must depend the future greatness of the Dominion, but are in reality so many bodies, entrusted with certain defined minor powers of a provincial or municipal character. And while the constitution has been thus wisely framed so as to give strength to the central authority, it at the same time gives to each province that perfect freedom of action necessary to develop its internal resources. Education, provincial works, public lands and mines, and all municipal matters, are under provincial control; and it is only necessary to follow the history of provincial legislation for the past fourteen years to see how much valuable progress has been made in all such matters. Under no other system than one that gives a Provincial Government full jurisdiction over property and civil rights, and affords complete protection to its peculiar institutions, would it be possible to satisfy the French Canadian section of the Canadian people. As it is now, all elements of discontent have vanished under the operation of the Act of Union, and there is no more loyal or earnest member of the Confederation than the province of Quebec, which was once distrusted by English statesmen.

But it is not only in the distribution of powers that the Canadian system has undoubtedly a greater element of strength than the constitution of the United States. If Canada was obliged to imitate the Federal Union of her neighbors in some essential respects, yet the foundations of her Government rest on the broad, stable principles of the unwritten constitution of the parent State. The Queen is expressly stated in our Constitutional Act to be a component part of Parliament; and in her is vested the executive government and authority over Canada. This authority is exercised by a Governor-General, appointed and only removable by the Crown. The Sovereign is consequently always represented—never dies or disappears with party changes; and it is in the permanence and stability of the Executive that Canada, like other dependencies of the Empire, has a guarantee of peaceful and well-ordered government that seems hardly possible under an elective system

which at short intervals gives full reign to the passions of party. This Governor-General is not an irresponsible head of the Executive during his term of office, but acts invariably under the advice of Ministers, in accordance with the wise British principle which withdraws the Sovereign from the arena of parliamentary and party debate, and makes some Minister responsible for every act of the Executive. The perils that surround the Executive in the American Republic have been sadly illustrated only a short while since. All England and Canada lately mourned the death of President Garfield :

“A brave man struggling in the storms of fate,
And greatly falling.”

It is admitted that he fell a victim to that fatal system which makes the President responsible for every appointment to office. “A million of needy or ambitious men,” said an American thinker at the time, “besiege the President for the hundred thousand places in his gift. Murder for ever lurks in the concentration and distribution of patronage.” All quarrels over the distribution of these offices, all difficulties among the political party which elect the President, reflect more or less on the head of the nation, who must bear the full weight of the dangerous burthen. But a Governor-General in Canada cannot be brought into any controversy that may arise over a question of patronage; for he stands above and aloof from all party strife, the representative of a Sovereign “who can do no wrong.”

This question of patronage must always be fraught with difficulty in a country enjoying popular institutions. The atrocious doctrine that “to the victors belong the spoils” has its influence with the democracy, and it is the misfortune of the American people that the politicians have infected the whole body politic with this plague spot. Canada has so far escaped the infection, and though now and then after a fierce political contest some irresponsible journals of the lower type clamour for changes, yet the sound sense of the country at large has kept the Civil Service comparatively free from political taint. It is true, the strong pressure of party is continually overcrowding departments; but, taking it as a whole, the leading public servants of Canada, the men who keep the machinery of Government in operation, whatever party may be in power, are a body of men whose ability and character are the best evidences of the strength of a system of Government, one of whose essential principles is a permanent public service. It is an encouraging and creditable fact that cases of peculation or dishonesty among Canadian officials are rare and

comparatively insignificant, though the opportunities for abstracting large sums of money are necessarily large in a country with numerous Government savings banks, post-offices, and custom-houses in every section. No Star Route frauds have ever disgraced the political annals of Canada, and her public men have invariably preserved that integrity which is a distinguishing trait of English statesmen. It is true now and then, at times of violent party strife, irresponsible public writers make rash charges against their opponents, but, so far, such accusations have in every case been proved mere exhibitions of indiscreet party malice, and the only unfortunate result has been to lower the tone of political discussion, and weaken the influence of the press.

With a Federal system, which combines at once central strength and local freedom of action, with a permanent Executive independent of popular caprice and passion; with a Civil Service resting on the firm basis of freedom from polities and security of tenure, the Dominion of Canada possesses elements of stability which should give confidence to all those who make their homes within her limits. Nor is it among the least advantages of Canada that her people always show a respect for law and order which can well bear comparison with the condition of things even in the older States of the American Union. From time to time we read of bodies of American citizens attacking jails, and forcibly hanging criminals, because "Justice and the Courts are a farce;" and the most recent cases occurred in a village in Michigan, and at Bloomington, a rich and important city of Illinois, "confessedly one of the greatest and most enlightened of American commonwealths."* The vicious and dangerous system of an elective judiciary has never had its advocates in Canada. The judges are happily independent of all political influences, and can only be removed on the Addresses of the Senate and the House of Commons; and consequently there is a general confidence in the integrity and independence of the Bench. In fact, since the British system has prevailed in Canada, there has been no instance of the Crown having been obliged to displace a judge for corruption and improper conduct in connection with the administration of justice. It is also a gratifying fact that all over Canada there is a strong moral sense, which preserves the purity of domestic life, and assists in strengthening the marriage tie. A short time since a New York clergyman called attention from the pulpit to the melancholy fact that no less than two thousand four hundred divorces had taken place

* *New York World*, September 29, 1881.

within twelve months in six of the older States of the Union. In no part of the Union is "serial polygamy" more practised than in New England, among the lineal descendants of the stern Puritan moralists. In the Dominion marriage and divorce are among the matters assigned exclusively to the Federal Parliament—so careful have the founders of the Confederation been to give full importance to those questions which lie at the basis of all society. Since 1867 the Dominion Parliament has only been called upon to pass some six divorce bills for persons living in the two large provinces of Ontario and Quebec.* No monstrous plague like Mormonism can ever be permitted to take such root in the Canadian North-west as in the territory of Utah, where the whole power of the Federal Government seems unable to drag it out. Step by step the institutions of the older provinces follow population into the Western plains of Canada. Education, a Judiciary, Municipal Institutions, the Common and Statutory Law, are the natural sequence of settlement in the new territory. So far all the large powers possessed by the Federal Government in connection with that vast territory have been wisely administered, and all those who go into that country may depend on the ability of the Government to give every security to the life and property of the pioneer. The principles of justice and honesty which have always been observed in the relations of Canada with the aboriginal tribes—principles in such remarkable contrast with the chicanery and corruption of American Indian agents—give a guarantee of safety to the settler that he cannot find in the new States and territories of the greater Union. In short, every man, the moment he puts his foot on the North-west prairie has the assurance that he can rely on the protection of British laws and institutions, so modified, as to be adapted to the circumstances of a new land.

A few words in conclusion as to the future of a country whose progress not only illustrates the energy but the social elevation of the people. The Confederation is only in its infancy, and yet it is proving its capacity for national expansion. The Dominion Government has now, under its Imperial Charter, assumed many of the responsibilities of a nation. It exercises a powerful control over each province, inasmuch as it now possesses the power, formerly devolving upon the Imperial authorities alone, of disallowing Acts of the local legislatures, as well as the appointing and removing the Lieutenant-Governors, through the Governor-General in Council. The

* Nova Scotia and New Brunswick have special Courts of Divorce, as before the Confederation; but only a very few suits have taken place for many years.

Central Government rules a territory, whose fertile area is at least equal in extent to three States as large as France, and new provinces can be established therein by Acts of the Canadian Parliament, which in this respect also discharges Imperial functions. Yet only forty years ago the provinces of British North America were poor, struggling communities of people, without a common purpose, without any position of importance in the Empire. Responsible government was conceded to them with considerable reluctance, through fears that it might clash at times with Imperial interests, and that it might not always be worked out with statesmanlike discretion. The large powers and responsibilities now entrusted to the Dominion sufficiently testify to the opinion entertained by England as to the ability and sagacity of the public men and the people of her most important dependency. So far the Canadians have, through good and evil report, been staunch supporters of Imperial connection, though their faith may have sustained more than one hard trial when they have seen evidences of indifference to Canadian interests and a lack of sympathy with Canadian progress. No doubt the closing years of this century will form an epoch in the career of the Dominion. Now at last is her golden opportunity. For a century past the United States have been able to attract millions of souls, while Canada has been comparatively overlooked, through the belief that has too generally prevailed that she had far inferior material advantages to offer to intending settlers. Every year, however, is furnishing more convincing evidence that she possesses at last in the North-west a fertile area far more valuable and larger than any now owned by the United States, who have already exhausted the more considerable portion of their most available agricultural territory in the West. If population flows into the North-west of Canada with any degree of rapidity during the next twenty years—and the returns of the past season are very encouraging—the position of Canada in the commencement of the next century will be one that many nations may well envy. It will be an unfortunate day for the Empire if the coolness or apathy of Englishmen should at this critical juncture cramp the energies or damp the aspirations of Canadians. They believe that the story which the Immigration Returns of this continent have told for so many years back will be henceforth one more flattering to the Empire, and that the increasing interest taken in Canada will soon bear rich fruit in the development of her territorial resources. Imperial connection is still the motive power in Canadian legislation; and though changes may be demanded in years to come more commensurate with that higher position Canada

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must occupy in a not very distant future, yet there is every reason to believe that those changes can be made so as to give greater strength to the Empire, and at the same time open up a wider field to the ambition of the Canadian people. Perhaps the time may come when the Imperial State will find in the Federal system of the Canadian provinces a constitutional solution which will settle many national difficulties, and give that unity to the Empire which it now certainly has not. Such a solution may be only the dream of enthusiasts; and yet there are not a few men already, both in the parent State and its dependencies, whose aspirations take so patriotic a direction. If so magnificent a scheme could once be realized, then the memorable words of Edmund Burke would at last have their full significance:—

“The Parliament of Great Britain sits at the head of her extensive Empire in two capacities: one is the local legislature of this island, providing for all things at home immediately, and by no other instrument than the Executive power; the other, and I think her nobler capacity, is what I call her *Imperial* character, in which, as from the throne of Heaven, she superintends all the inferior legislatures, and guides and controls them all, without annihilating any.”

But it is in the “living present” that Canada has now the deepest interest. Her future mainly rests on the readiness with which the people of the parent State respond to her appeal in this crisis of her history. It will indeed be disheartening to her if her fidelity to British connection should only be rewarded by the spectacle of hundreds of thousands of Englishmen, Irishmen and Scotchmen yearly giving the preference to a country whose increasing greatness is being continually contrasted with Canadian weakness by the advocates of the Continental idea. It is a mere delusion to imagine that Canada must, sooner or later, be annexed to the United States. From time to time articles appear in the British press, not only throwing doubts on the sincerity of the loyalty of the Canadian people, but assuming that their inevitable destiny is absorption into the ranks of the American commonwealths. This opinion has no doubt obtained a certain currency in political and intellectual circles of the mother country through the agency of writers who have never succeeded in forming a just estimate of the sentiments of the majority of the Canadian people. From their inner consciousness they have evolved theories which, when brought to the crucial test of experience, are found to be at variance with the aspirations of all true Canadians. The connection with the parent State does not depend on mere sentimentalism, but rests on the firm basis of sincere affection. In every national crisis involving the inter-

ests of England, Canada has been faithful to her allegiance, and has even made sacrifices which are the best evidence of her strong attachment, and of the value she places on Imperial connection. The histories of the American War of Independence, of the War of 1812, and of the Rebellion of 1836 as well, illustrate the fact that the mass of the people has always been deeply loyal at heart. In all the recent wars which England has fought, Canada has been ever ready to furnish both men and money to the Empire. She has suffered and paid for British connection, as the history of the Maine and North-Western Boundaries and of the Fenian Raids will abundantly prove to the political student who is curious to investigate the true facts of questions which show that it is not Canada who has been heretofore indifferent to Imperial interests on this continent. The awards in these Boundary disputes notoriously deprived Canada of valuable territory which properly belonged to her. To this very day she has never been indemnified for the losses she sustained through the invasion of Americanized Irish, who sought to wound England through her loyal Canadian dependency. These facts hardly sustain an irascible writer, in the leading journal of England, when he recently attacked Canada for selfishness. The truth is, Canadians have always recognized the fact that the value of the Imperial connection should cause them to overlook all considerations of purely colonial concern, and that there are times when the interests of the Empire as a whole must demand sacrifices on their part. They are ever ready to sustain the honor, and rejoice in the successes of England. They are as proud of her achievements in war, commerce, science and literature as are the men of pleasant Kent or Devon. For months past, whilst the American people have too plainly sympathized with the Egyptian rebels, Canadians have followed every stage in the history of the conflict with the proud confidence that the result would be the speedy triumph of the parent State. Among the first cities of the Empire to send congratulations to England for the victory which ended the war, was Montreal—the ancient Ville-Marie founded by Maisonneuve two hundred and forty years ago, and largely peopled by loyal French Canadians. Nor must it be forgotten that the descendants of the Loyalists of the last century are very numerous in the older provinces, and that their influence is always felt whenever it is a question of connection with the Empire. Besides this traditionary or hereditary feeling, there is that sentiment of self-interest which is a strong argument with all those who look to the practical side of things. As long as England is bound to assist us with her power, Canada has a vantage ground that she could not

occupy were she an independent State to-morrow, thrown on her own resources in the face of a great nation always looking to its own aggrandisement. It is equally evident that were Canada absorbed into the American Union, she would become relatively insignificant—an alien as it were among powerful States having no sympathy with her traditions and interests.

In short, the conservatism of the governing classes, especially of the French Canadian element; the historic traditions and associations of the people; their natural aspirations in view of all they have achieved in the face of a powerful competitor, all tend to create a line of division between the two countries which must widen year by year, according as the prosperity of the Dominion becomes more assured, and public confidence is strengthened by success. Imperial interests emphatically demand that every encouragement and sympathy be given to this people. All those considerations of natural affection which keep a family together should tend to strengthen the position of Canada within the Empire. The people of the parent State may now see in imagination two sisters standing on the shores of the Western Continent. One of them, in the meridian of her beauty, in the possession of great wealth, has millions of people from all lands to pay her tribute. Long ago, she left the shelter of the "old home," and for years parent and child looked coldly on each other; but now, happily for both, old grievances and animosities are forgotten, and the daughter at last revives and cherishes old memories and associations of the land from which her ancestors came. But withal, she is sometimes wayward, too ready to yield to the popular passion and prejudice of the hour; and though the parent may be proud of her beauty and her success, yet he may not, in justice to those nearest to him, forget that it is to her sister close by that he owes the warmest affection and sympathy. This sister, of modest mien, points to her own home as one which, if less known to the world than that of her rival sister, offers nevertheless true content and happiness. With a serenity and constancy inherited from her northern lineage, she turns a confident, fearless look across the ocean to the country of her allegiance, to which she has always been true. For her American sister, who has won the world's admiration, Canada has only the kindest feeling; but it is only natural she should think that it is to herself England owes the most. Not as a needy suppliant, but as a daughter, attached to the old home, yet prouder of the one she has made, she stands on the shores of the Dominion ready to welcome all who come to share that Canadian domain which illustrates the patient industry and indomitable courage of the years that have passed.

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